The CRISIS

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The Trouble ...ull

An Autobiograph ...ment

HENRY F. WINSLOW

Of Global Bondage

WILLIAM WORTHY

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A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

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WE ARE IN THE FIGHT FOR FREEDOM *is the motto of The Links, Inc., a national organization with a triple purpose: civic, intercultural, and social. The Links made the largest contributions of any organization to the work of the NAACP at their 6th annual assembly when they contributed* $26,850. *Thurgood Marshall, Mrs. Daisy Lampkin, originator of the contribution project, Mrs. Margaret Hawkins, Links president, and Roy Wilkins are shown during the presentation at Bluefield, W. Va.*

■ A report on Trumbull Park Homes issued by the Chicago branch of the NAACP

The Trouble In Trumbull

IT IS late afternoon, the second day of summer 1954. Two young Negroes, Clarence and Hendricks Young, enter a park, tossing a baseball back and forth between them. They are brothers of a former "All-American" football star, Claude "Buddy" Young.

The brothers move to a vacant spot in the small park, still playing catch. Suddenly they stop.

Four teams of white youths have been playing ball games in the park before a scattering of onlookers, also white. Now they have halted their games, and the teams, and spectators, are bearing down upon the brothers, swinging bats, shouting insults.

The brothers have been cut off from the park entrance, unable to flee; the mob, some sixty or more persons, attacks. A man of about fifty, who had been watching the uniformed white youths play, holds Hennie Young from behind while the younger men and boys beat his face and body with their fists, and tear his clothes. Clarence is fighting back, swinging out at his attackers. A baseball bat crashes down on his shoulders. The Young brothers reel under the blows, but do not go down. Finally, some of the hundreds of police officers who have been assigned to the area come up and stop the beating.

The policemen order the white teams to go back to their ball games, and escort the Young brothers to Clarence's home in the nearby Trumbull Park Homes Public Housing Project. No one is arrested.

Such is the treatment of "All-Americans" and their brothers. . . . That is, if they are black and live in the area of Trumbull Park.

This has been going on for nearly a year now, since August, 1953. Since the first Negro family, Mr. and Mrs. Donald Howard and their two small children moved into this government owned housing development. Their advent had been an accident.

Trumbull Park Homes had been one of four projects in the city of Chicago occupied exclusively by white tenants, despite the "no discrimination" policy of the Chicago Housing Authority, the agency that operates

federal public housing in Chicago. A CHA staff member had mistaken Bettye Howard for white, and it was not until after July 30, 1953, when Bettye, Donald, and the children had occupied the apartment assigned to the family at 10630 S. Bensley Ave., that the error was discovered. It was not until the Howards had been in the project a few days, and had even made friends with a few of their neighbors, that the mob attacks began.

BRICKS AND ROCKS

In the beginning, the attacks were not unlike others that have occurred annually in Chicago, in the Fernwood Project, in Airport Homes, in Cicero, Park Manor, Oak Park; on Peoria Street and Emerald Avenue; every year since the end of World War II. For summer time in Chicago is often the season for mob violence.

Bricks and rocks were hurled into the windows of the Howard apartment. Attempts were made to set the place afire. Large mobs formed nightly, parading past the project, shouting anti-Negro slogans and threatening injury and death to the astonished and terrified Negro family.

One year before these tactics had been employed against a newly arrived Portuguese family of dark complexion and had driven the mother and two children from the Trumbull Park Homes. The mob had thought the family Negro. Now the mobs were attacking again in full fury.

By August 5, 1953, the city had assigned 750 policemen on a twenty-four hour schedule to protect the Howards and the project, and it was rumored that the Negro family would be moved out. An investigation had reportedly revealed that the Howards were over the income limit of eligibility for project occupants, and the mob sensed the possibility of another victory at Trumbull Park.

During this period, the Chicago branch and other organizations in Chicago were exerting pressure on the mayor and the Housing Authority not to yield to the lawless demands of the anti-Negro throngs around the Southeast Side project. An immediate end to the violence at Trumbull park was demanded.

The commissioners of the Housing Authority met to consider the situation. Representatives from the Chicago branch and other groups interested in equal rights for the Negro testified before the commissioners. Also testifying was Carl G. Buck, at that time president of the South Deering Improvement Association, an organization spearheading the effort to prevent Negro occupancy of the Trumbull Park project.

When the CHA commissioners finally announced their decision, it was apparent that the mob had anticipated too much. The decision was that Negro citizens have the right to occupy all CHA operated projects in Chicago, including not only Trumbull, which had had no Negro occupants during the 14 years since it was built, but also the Lathrop, Lawndale, and Bridgeport Homes projects which like Trumbull were all white.

There was however a negative aspect to the Commission's report, for the removal of the Howard family from the project was ordered on the grounds that the family had falsified its income statement when applying

to CHA. The Howards flatly denied the charge and a suit was filed in their behalf through the legal redress committee of the Chicago branch to prevent their eviction from the project.

Now the battle for Trumbull Park assumed new dimensions, one after another, the CHA moved new Negro families into the project until, in ten months time, a full dozen now occupied the once all-white housing development.

During these months, from September to June, the mob continued its attacks, sporadically, but persistently grinding away at the nerves and courage of the Negroes in the project. Occasionally colored people passing the project on foot, or in autos, were stoned or otherwise attacked. Occasionally Negro women living in the project were shoved or abused on their way to market, or to church. Occasionally the police arrested the members of the mobs, but invariably they were released with only a small fine, or a lecture—a gentle tap on the wrist by the judge who heard the case.

BRUTAL CONTEMPT

Time and again the police assigned to guard the project showed their brutal contempt for its Negro occupants. Negro women were insulted while riding the squadrolls that they had to use to go in and out of the project. Negro mothers were forced to open the heavy doors of the big police wagons, while police officers stood by roughly reminding them that this was not "the Urban League Taxi Service." Often the police would claim they had not seen the violations of the law that had occured under their very noses, and more than one Negro victim of a beating at the hands of the mob ran to the policeman for protection only to find the officer disinterested.

But worst of all had been the bombs. Starting last fall, the mob began at night to explode large aerial bombs of the type used in big Fourth of July celebrations. These bombs would shoot upward like rockets and explode in the air with a deafening blast that could be heard over a mile away. Others were aimed directly at the project, and particularly at the Donald Howard Home. One such bomb fired at point blank range tore into a second floor window of the Howard apartment. Still the Howard's hung on doggedly as did the other heroic Negro families. They had no place else to go, save back to the ghetto from which they had just escaped.

In February, while the suit of the Chicago branch on behalf of the Howard family was still pending, a regional NAACP conference called upon the United States Attorney General, Herbert Brownell, to launch a federal investigation into the attacks against the government project in Chicago, since the local police seemed unwilling, or unable to cope with the situation. Anyway, nothing happened.

The Chicago branch, together with other community groups had made repeated efforts to see the mayor and have him take special steps to halt the Trumbull disorders. The mayor usually claimed he was too busy to see the people who called upon him, and would assert that any special action or statement from him on Trumbull Park was unnecessary. The

mayor finally did see members of the Chicago branch on two occasions, and he also saw and permitted himself to be photographed with members of a white property owners association that brought him 17,000 signatures on a petition calling for the removal of police from the Trumbull area. It is the general opiniion that removal of the police will mean added violence.

But constant pressure was continued by the Chicago branch and other democratic individuals and organizations upon all city officials, and in March the mayor finally yielded to demands by issuing a statement to the press, but the statement was far short of what was needed to halt the violence at Trumbull.

The bombings, the beatings, the general harrassment of the Negro families went on.

On Monday, May 3, the Donald Howard family moved out of the Trumbull Park Homes. Their moving was no discredit to them. They had withstood fearsome pressure. But their moving was still a victory for the mob.

On Thursday, May 8, more than 50 religious, labor, and civic groups answered a call of the Chicago branch for a meeting on Trumbull. A special community wide organization was formed to find new means of ending the disorders. This group discussed a program of action, including the issuance of an ultimatum to the mayor. Later the branch sent an appeal to the NAACP national office requesting that executive secretary Walter White and Special counsel Thurgood Marshall be assigned to the Trumbull case until it is settled.

Every month, and each week, some half-hearted liberal in Chicago arises to assert that the Trumbull situation has been settled. Yet it was just a few months ago that Clarence and Hennie Young were beaten; that Frank Brown and Edward Sneed were stoned; that a Negro couple passing near the project was set upon and slugged. Perhaps, even as you read this, bombs are exploding in Trumbull Park. For the disorders are very much alive.

They threaten one hundred and fifty years of amazing progress by Negro Americans. They threaten to snatch away the impact and significance of the recent historic Supreme Court rulings against segregation in the public schools at the very moment of victory.

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HERBERT WRIGHT, *NAACP youth secretary, bids farewell to Annie Ruth Varner as she prepares to leave for the Second Triennial Conference of the World Assembly of Youth held in Singapore, Malaya, August 15-24, 1954. Miss Varner, a Cleveland, Ohio, public school teacher, and Walter Carrington, a Harvard Law School student and a member of the NAACP board, represented the Association's youth division at the conference.*

Ron Spillman, Black Star

PETER ABRAHAMS, *author of "Tell Freedom" (Knopf) at his home in England with his wife and children. Mr. Abrahams' new book, reviewed at right, is an account of his growing up in the slums of Johannesburg, South Africa.*

This article-review tells of a book which is a timely warning for those who would live by the sword

An Autobiographical Testament*

By Henry F. Winslow

DURING the summer of 1954 the magazine section of one of the Free World's great newspapers carried an article setting forth "The Vast Challenge of Africa" in the following tone:

Consider the scene. The rising tide of nationalism runs from Tunisia to Capetown.

. . . The peace of Kenya has been torn to shreds by the savage, bestial rites of Mau Mau, which makes no bones about its aim: out with the white man, back to the primitive joys of the bush.

. . . The question now is whether a new central authority in the hands of Africans will prove strong enough to subdue the warlike natures and separatist tendencies of the tribesmen.

. . . . the landless, feckless, race-rabid demagogues, who serve the purposes of Communist propagandists.

Consider the source of these spirited strictures: Elspeth Huxley, an English novelist who grew up in East Africa. Then consider one of the very moving autobiographies for our times: Peter Abrahams' *Tell Freedom*. Consider the signs plastered over every material good thing western civilization has developed in the Union of South Africa: RESERVED FOR EUROPEANS ONLY. Lastly, consider the thrice-distilled (by faith, hope and charity) beauty of poet Abrahams' terrible, tragic truth.

Born (on March 19, 1919) a child of the Cape Colored community in the slums of Johannesburg, little Peter was at five years put to drawing and carrying well-water so that his Aunt Liza could wash the laundry of overlording whites. Such was their poverty that salt was the sole friend of his childhood accidents and illnesses; such their plight that cold, hunger and racial hatred were his ever-present enemies. Indeed, the lesson of white supremacy was literally beaten into his child's back by his Uncle Sam, as ordered by "A tall, broad white man" who burst open

* Tell Freedom: Memories of Africa. By Peter Abrahams. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1954. 370 pp. $4.00.

HENRY F. WINSLOW, *who is a regular Crisis reviewer, teaches English in the East New York Vocational High School, Brooklyn, N. Y.*

the door of their home to exact the customary revenge on a colored child who dared fight back when attacked by white children.

But little Peter escaped the edge of the sword and out of weakness was made strong. He found, in the very face of denial, friendship and love. He fled from the terror of his native land.

LITERARY AWAKENING

One day a Jewish girl read to him from Lamb's *Tales from Shakespear*. Suddenly, there opened for him the door through which he found his way to school, to American Negro literature (particularly Dubois' *The Souls of Black Folk*: "The problem of the twentieth-century is the problem of the color-line."), to the poetry of John Keats, Grace Dieu Teachers' College at Pietersburg, the Bible, Marxism, and a long wrestling with the sharp conflict between Western man's Christianity and his racism.

He found in Marxist theory "an intelligent and reasonable explanation for the things that happened"; and in a couple at once wedded to Communist dogma and each other an essential humanity which they themselves were unaware of:

> Here at least, with these two friends of mine who were Marxists, the creed had measured up to reality. They had said color was an artificial barrier. Now, though not deliberately, I had tested this belief and found them true to it. . . . Marxism aside, this man and his wife had, by the nature of their friendship, helped me to the point where I could look beyond the whiteness of a white man's skin and see and comprehend his humanity. I knew that if I told him this he would say it was because they were Marxists. But I had met other Marxists who had been unable to do this. It had come out of their sense of humanity and their essential goodness as human beings.

But young Abrahams' findings created for him a new need: "And I had still to find, under the political creed, something that would take in human feeling, love and laughter, poetry and music, and the dear warmth of pure, motiveless friendship." He had weighed Marxism and found it wanting. "Could the creed of Marxism raise all men to the full measure of a dignified humanity?"

He was to slay yet another dragon:

> . . . Whatever it had done to me, and other blacks, racialism had never driven us to this brand of shame and guilt that verged on self-hate. The sensitive, unprejudiced whites of our land walk a dangerous emotional tight-rope. And the non-whites rarely understand it.

GIFTED POET

Thus *Tell Freedom* is the autobiographical testament of a gifted poet who suffered, sought and found —and in the finding triumphed to a degree seldom reached by man. Born to miserable poverty, he enriched the spirit. Bred among the vulgar, he refused to be vulgarized ("There is in true beauty," wrote Plato, "something which vulgar souls cannot admire, so can no dirt or rags hide that something from those souls which are not of the vulgar stamp."). Humbled, in heart by Hebrew prophecy, in status by Western man's version of "the industrialized Christian present," he subordinated within himself the bitter reality of the second to the basic charity of the first.

This is his accomplishment, and it was evident in *The Path of Thunder*,

(*Continued on page* 512)

LIFE MEMBERSHIPS—*J. McKinley Lee, Sr., (right) of the Lansing, Michigan, branch receives $500 life memberships from Atty. Stuart Dunning, Jr., (center), branch president, and Dr. Clinton Canady, Jr., branch vice-president. Mr. Lee was captain of the 1954 membership campaign and his team brought in the largest percentage of memberships.*

LOUISIANA SUPPORTER OF THE NAACP—*Dr. Will Taylor, Sr., of Monroe, Louisiana, has purchased a paid-up* $500 *life membership in the Association. In his* 40 *years of alleviating human suffering, Dr. Taylor is delighted to make this contribution to help all under-privileged peoples. When asked to comment upon the recent success of the NAACP in the field of human relationships, he said: "Look what God has wrought!"*

■ This author argues that our foreign aid program is regarded by Asians as a refurbished policy of economic imperialism

Of Global Bondage

By William Worthy

A NEGRO American traveling in Asia is not only royally treated. He is also asked repeatedly why in heaven's name his race back home doesn't wake up to the color realities of today's world. The question comes from Asians, of course, but it occasionally comes from enlightened Europeans as well. Why, the tone of perplexity implies, don't the moulders of Negro opinion seize this historic opportunity to rally support for Nehru's peace efforts, for the freedom of colonials, for the newly independent and economically precarious countries?

While waiting in line to buy stamps at the Singapore post office a year ago, I remarked to the correspondent for a conservative British daily how happy I was to note that the Malayan postal workers, pushed around by the white colonial government, were taking a strike vote. "Even in the USA," I said, "government workers don't have the right to strike."

"Why do you say 'even'?" he retorted. "The United States is no longer a free society. Have you read *The World the Dollar Built?*"

I had to confess that I had not even heard of it—a best-seller in the Commonwealth and colonies written by Gunther Stein, hailed by the organ of the Royal Economic Society as "well informed," but practically ignored here in the States. Republished late in 1953 in New York by The Monthly Review Press, it deserves to be read and widely discussed here especially. Following in the scholarly tradition of *America's Sixty Families* and *The Road to War*, this book documents the *1984* thesis of George Orwell in his memorable chapter "War Is Peace" that "all rulers of all ages have tried to impose a false view of the world upon their followers"—Washington no less than Moscow.

Provided your parents are not so fortunate as to dwell in a swank apartment on Harlem's Edgecombe

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In 1953 WILLIAM WORTHY *spent eight months in Asia after having studied in Europe for eighteen months. Last summer Mr. Worthy did a cross-country series of interviews for seven American dailies on what has happened to Negro veterans who were repatriated last year from prisoner-of-war camps in Korea after exposure to special Communist indoctrination.*

Avenue—or even, for that matter, in the most decrepit slum areas of our various Harlems—what does it mean today to be born colored outside this generally privileged land? Writes Stringfellow Barr in *Let's Join the Human Race:*

> If you are born colored, the chances are overwhelming that you will be chronically sick all your life—from malaria, or intestinal parasites, or tuberculosis, or maybe even leprosy. And even if you are not chronically sick, you are likely to be weak from hunger. . . . You will almost certainly work on the land, and most of what you raise will go to the landlord. In addition, you are likely to be deeply in debt to the local moneylender, and you may have to pay him annual interest of anywhere from 30 to 100 per cent. . . . Tyranny does not frighten [you]: [You] have never known anything else.

WORLD REVOLUTION

Russia, Barr says, is offering you world revolution and a planned, productive, expanding economy. The U. S. Congress is countering with a few paltry millions in Point Four aid, hamstrung by Cold War strategy and military considerations. And your parents, who were, by definition, excluded from the *European* Recovery Program, would recall the 1947 statement of an influential Southern congressman as he helped to steer the Marshall Aid bill through a parsimonious Republican Congress: "The Marshall Plan is a war plan." (ECA *did* become MSA four years later without a hitch; the end *was* in the beginning.)

If you were a starving citizen of India, you would hear your Prime Minister criticizing "the use of NATO as a shelter and cover for colonial gains of member countries" — specifically, the undercover attempt to convert into military colonial outposts the French and Portuguese "pockets" in India. You would also hear him charge that American arms to Pakistan signify a "return to colonialism in India."

If you were an African, you would know, in the words of Basil Davidson ("Cashing in on Old Imperialisms," *The Nation,* September 13, 1952) that "ECA and MSA loans in Africa have no other purpose than to facilitate the extraction of raw materials for foreign profit" and for U. S. war industries. Washington, he points out, approved London's proposal for Central African Federation, which, when railroaded through, brought four million protesting Africans under a centralized racist regime. "In other words, having lent money for imperialist purposes, the U. S. is finding that it must draw appropriate political conclusions." These loans, "like British capital in the past, flow into precisely the same socio-economic structure of 'white supremacy' and 'cheap labor' against which Africans now struggle."

JAPANESE FARMER

If you were a survival-minded Japanese farmer, grateful in 1946 for MacArthur's democratic land reform program but still in need of every square foot of food-growing land, you would find 650-odd unwelcome American bases parked on your rice-short countryside and worsening your country's unfavorable balance of trade. If you were a Japanese worker, you would note the close cooperation between the American Embassy in Tokyo and the resurgent, fascist-

minded veterans' groups and the once purged militarists who are giving assurances that *they* know how to handle militant unions.

Yes, possessed with a colored skin anywhere outside the provincial USA, you would be acutely aware that whereas in 1938 the U. S. had 26 per cent of the world's income, it now has over 40 per cent. You would necessarily agree with the *Bombay Chronicle* that "as long as such gross inequalities continue, there cannot possibly be peace and economic stability in the world." Unless you were incredibly naive, you would at the very least question the "unselfishness" of the American aid program; for none other than Harry Truman declared as recently as March 7, 1954, that his Point Four program "holds the nucleus of unprecedented U. S. prosperity because it can create massive demands for American goods."

Why these policies of economic imperialism? Why a million and a half U. S. soldiers, airmen, sailors and marines in 63 lands and overseas possessions? Why more U. S. troops abroad now than were in the entire army four years ago? Why American military advisory groups in 34 foreign countries?

President Eisenhower has unwittingly implied the answer: "Foreign policy should be based on the need for America to obtain profitable foreign markets and raw materials to sustain her economy." No longer ago than 1950 the same man had apparently entertained more "isolationist" thoughts: "We cannot be a modern Rome guarding the far frontiers with our legions, if for no other reason than because these are not, politically, our frontiers." (Not our frontiers, Mr. President? But just a couple of months ago your Air Force Secretary, giving a unilateral interpretation of the brand new bases-and-dollars agreement with Dictator Franco, blurted out: "Who's going to stop us?" if in the event of war we decide to use those air bases in Spain for offensive warfare.)

Another American, a West Point professor, shed a bit of light on what we're doing abroad these days. He declared in February 1948 that America would have to make her very diplomacy a "mineral diplomacy." Still another part of the answer to my questions stems from the decay in the empires of Europe. The State Department, says Scott Nearing, is presiding over the dissolution of the British Empire. As receiver, the USA can pick up what's worth buying and salvaging on the auction block—a sort of imperial succession. Empires, new or hand-me-downs, of course require "defense." So when you see on your map a string of U. S. bases around the Mediterranean and read about the hundred U. S. battleships on patrol there, just recall that in 1947 the British lifeline in that area (Greece) was turned over to Washington, practically on 24 hours' notice when Whitehall's grip was slipping. As British influence sank beneath the waves, up bobbed the Truman Doctrine. Of course, as Nearing said in a recent Boston lecture on "Rags and Tatters of Empire," trying to maintain empires today is bad business. With high overhead costs, it just doesn't pay any longer. "Mr. Churchill doesn't know it. The French are beginning to suspect it. The policymakers in Washington haven't heard of it."

LEFT ORIENTATION

A major advantage always of having a generally Left orientation in politics and of possessing no wealth to safeguard is that one sees the handwriting on the wall considerably sooner than do conservatives, and one is consequently overtaken by fewer jolting surprises. In 1944 Dwight Macdonald wrote presciently of the forthcoming Permanent War Economy in this country. "In war modern capitalism has an economic stabilizer better than pyramids, cathedrals and PWA rolled into one." At the same time he posed this question about American policymakers: "How long are we going to continue to be disappointed when tigers don't behave like lambs?"

Tigers, you say? As for our governmental figures who are directing military strategy, they are today being called even worse—"barbarians" —by high officials of India for continuing those insane H-bomb tests in the Pacific (*New York Times*, April 4, 1954). As for the business men holding the economic power which, in the final analysis, is political power, they are still the "decent, patriotic Americans" of whom William Allen White wrote a decade ago as they jockeyed in Washington for lush war contracts.

> If you touch them in nine relations of life out of ten, they are kindly, courteous, Christian gentlemen. But in the tenth relation, where it touches their own organization, they are stark mad, ruthless, unchecked by God or man, paranoiacs, in fact, as evil in their designs as Hitler.

They are the heads, Gunther Stein informs us, of the 250 corporate giants that own almost two-thirds of the nation's manufacturing facilities. And since America claims 60 per cent of the world's industrial plant within her borders, those 250 corporations control about two-fifths of all modern industry on earth. They are the men, the devotees of *Business Week*, who read in that commercial and financial "Bible" in 1949:

> The prospect of ever-rising military spending acts . . . as a ceiling on the ambitious social-welfare projects [of the New Deal]. . . . There's a tremendous social and economic difference between welfare pump priming and military pump priming. . . . Military spending doesn't really alter the structure of the economy. . . . But welfare and public works spending does. . . . It creates new institutions. It redistributes income. . . . That's its object.

BEGUILED AMERICANS

For the enlightenment of those sturdy patriots who interpreted *1984* as solely a critique of *Communist* totalitarianism, let me place in juxtaposition to these *Business Week* reflections two passages from George Orwell's famous novel:

> The primary aim of modern warfare . . . is to use up the products of the machine without raising the general standard of living. Ever since the end of the nineteenth century, the problem of what to do with the surplus of consumption goods has been latent in industrial society. . . . War is waged by each ruling group against its own subjects, and the object of war is . . . to keep the structure of society intact.

If only the beguiled low-income Americans — living in substandard houses, eating unbalanced diets, and lacking available consumer goods — could know the feverish diplomatic and commercial anxiety in top U. S. circles about our so-called surpluses!

If only they understood that the pressure to dump abroad that merchandise which they need right here is a direct cause of international tension! If only they could digest the obvious truth of Dorothy Thompson's statement about Russia (*Boston Globe*, December 28, 1953) that "it is easier to keep a primitive consumer-poverty economy going than one whose problem is surplus production."

While all matters of international economics are complex and no one explanation is self-sufficient, many events within the "free world" can be properly understood within the framework of American capitalism's frantic need to elbow and jostle other nations out of markets. When Washington presses for rearmament of a Germany still Prussian-minded and euphemistically calls this dangerous lunacy "a German contribution to Western defense," just ponder for one moment about those German arms factories that might otherwise turn out civilian goods to compete with American civilian goods in Asian, African, Latin American, and Middle East markets. As usual, *Fortune* magazine, with its limited audience of sophisticated business readers, has gotten right down to brass tacks on this point without a lot of egghead ecstasy:

> We are asking U. S. businessmen to think of Wendell Willkie's *One World* not in fancy geopolitical terms, but merely in market terms.

AMERICAN INVESTMENTS

Contrary to what the average newspaper reader is misled to believe, other peoples abroad are extremely leery about American investments. Newly free nations in particular would prefer that investments, grants-in-aid, and technical aid be channeled through a UN World Development Authority. Smarting from the experience of all the "banana republics," the new president of Costa Rica —an outstanding democratic figure in that tragic Latin American area where Washington keeps dictators and arms Little Caesars—recently declared that his poor and underdeveloped country doesn't want our surplus capital. Every U. S. investment abroad represents potential aggression by us: the Departments of Commerce and Defense, our military bases and our MSA kibitzers are the clear, cold incarnation of the Coolidge gunboat doctrine that "the person and property of a citizen of the U. S. are a part of the general domain of the nation, even when abroad." Says Walter Lippmann:

> Our alliances, our military missions, even our Point Four aid, are regarded as an effort to continue in a new form the old Western imperialism. . . . It is folly on our part . . . to say that the only alternative to Soviet imperialism is an alliance with the U. S. For then, when the old regime of the Farouks and the Qavams is overthrown, we are, so to speak, overthrown with them.

Superficially, Washington encounters the least "trouble" with corrupt, reactionary, tyrannical, militaristic regimes, whether it involves a Point Four program, dumping of American goods, investments or bases. The *New York Times* correspondent in Damascus wrote on August 13, 1951, that without the necessary political change and economic reforms the application of modern machinery and technical assistance under Point Four were only "strengthening Syria's

feudalism." Stein quotes the UN *Survey of Economic Conditions in Africa* of February 1951 as a warning that purely business-oriented investment in the production of raw materials for export "may lead to one-sided development" in backward nations, unless there is simultaneously "fruitful exploration of resources for internal needs." But because the fulfillment of internal needs pays slim dividends, if any, to foreign investors, name, if you can, the surplus-harried American businessman who cares a hoot about a rounded development of Asian and African economies.

With greater "surpluses" to dump, with more refined techniques of dollar diplomacy, with better camouflaged means of exploitation we have brought the world right back to the point, decades ago, when Lincoln Steffens sighed: "Think of a civilization in which a good crop of breadstuff is bad news." Plagued with an unplanned economy which, says the Cleveland Trust Co., has had 24 depressions in 14 decades, *we* are the market aggressors, *we* are the diplomatic arm-twisters of "recalcitrant" governments, *we* the quartered soldiers, *we* the hated moneylenders in scores of foreign lands where, said *U. S. News and World Report*, "Dollar-Fed Peoples Hope To Sit Out A War. Billions Buy Few Allies for U. S." To match the unreliable armies in Russia's satellites, we, in turn, have trained our equally unreliable mercenaries all over the world, some of whom in Indo-China are deserting to the Vietminh at this very moment.

In this connection Stein cites from the *New York Herald Tribune* of June 5, 1950, a little known comment by Brigadier-General W. L. Roberts, U. S. Army, the commander of the Korean Military Advisory Group:

> KMAG is a living demonstration of how an intelligent and intensive investment of 500 combat-hardened American men and officers can train 100,000 guys who will do the shooting for you. . . . In Korea the American taxpayer has an army that is a fine watchdog over investments placed in this country and a force that represents the maximum results at the minimum cost.

After a bloody, worthless three-year war that broke out just 20 days after that cynical statement, how many parents of draft-age Americans want to back up that type of policy which, bound to fail in today's awakening world, brings death and ruin to mercenary and "employer" alike? And even if it "worked," who could justify the strategy of "Asians fighting Asians" for the benefit of American coupon-clippers?

INDIAN CHARGES

Lest anyone persists in claiming that we are generously arming Asians for their own defense, may I say that virtually no one in non-Communist Asia really expects any military invasion from China or Russia, busy internally with their own faltering "experiments" and intelligently fearful of western H-bombs if they should attempt aggression. The vice-president of Indonesia has said, for example: "A direct threat from that direction [Russia or China] to Indonesia neither exists nor is possible." In the *New York Herald Tribune* of December 21, 1953, David Lawrence quoted from the magazine *Foreign Affairs* an article "by a very impor-

tant person in India who remains anonymous," as Lawrence describes this semi-official spokesman for the Indian Government. The Indian emphasized that "the United States was the aggressor in Korea" and charged that "the American government originally intervened in the civil war in China by protecting Formosa." He continues:

It may sound strange to American ears, but none the less it is a fact that the leaders of India and Burma, and perhaps of other South Asian countries, excluding Siam, do not feel themselves threatened by communism. They feel satisfied that their people are not attracted to communism, that except in alliance with nationalism it has no strength or vitality in Asian societies. . . . Both China and the Soviet Union are India's neighbors, and yet India, in spite of very considerable American effort to persuade her, has not seen any menace to her existence by the presence on her frontiers of these two giant communist states.

In an eloquent passage on page 91 Stein sums up our mistakes of the post-war period:

It is quite clear that gifts and loans, largely motivated by American depression fears, were not what the post-war world needed most from the U. S. . . . What the world needed and still needs most from America is that she put her own house in order, that her giant economy be made stable, predictable, expanding, and able to trade and cooperate fully and consistency with other nations.

Stable — that means America must free herself from danger and fear of depression and therefore from the temptation to seek false, world-disturbing remedies in a reckless fight for foreign outlets and in work-creating armaments.

But because credulity is, in Aldous Huxley's words, a grave intellectual sin, I wish to avoid any implication that such a re-orientation of American policies will be easy, self-starting, or forthcoming after a religious conversion of the powers-that-be. As I write these words on April 10, 1954, it appears that Washington has learned nothing from Korea, that our current recession is likely to be "solved" by direct intervention in the Indo-China war, and that our bases in strife-torn French Africa are to be indirectly "safeguarded" by salvaging the tatters of French imperialism in Asia. This is a repeat performance of pre-Pearl Harbor days when, said *Fortune*, the American people "were eased into war by a process of discrete gradualism and manufactured inevitability."

SCHEMES OF MANIPULATORS

Indignation and even resistance to war will be of little avail, however, unless we understand the thinking and schemes of the manipulators. In this connection I know of no more lucid book than *New Men of Power* (1948), by C. Wright Mills. Mills, a professor at Columbia University, explains the often conflicting policies of the two main segments of the American Right: the myopic, pro-McKinleyites (the practical Right) and the slick Wall Street advocates of "one world" (the sophisticated conservatives who are adept in the use of liberal rhetoric and who know that America *must* concede a few civil rights to Negroes). Here is the briefest of summaries of the brilliant analysis by Professor Mills:

Ideologically, the practical conservatives are wild-eyed Utopian capitalists; strategically they are practical men. They have much will and a continuity

that comes from much backward vision. 'Remembering' imaginary situations, they long for the golden age of Harding, Coolidge and Hoover. . . .

The condition of the foreign world is improbable nonsense to them, and the economic cycle a great bafflement invented by the theoreticians of the New Deal. . . . The practical conservatives know what they want: to make more money out of business and to put down the radicals and labor leaders who get in the way. . . .

The sophisticated conservatives . . . leave the noise to the practical Right. They do not attempt to arouse the people at large; they work in and among the elite groups, primarily the high military, the chieftains of large corporations, and certain politicians. Knowing what they want, wanting it all the time, and believing the main drift is in their favor, these sophisticated conservatives try to realize their master aim quietly. . . .

They tie in solidly with the industry-armed forces-State Department axis, and move personally as well as politically in those circles. The interchange between the military and big industry is more widespread than most observers realize; intermarriages, as well as explicit career moves, would have to be taken into account in any thorough study of those connections. . . . Unlike their 'practical' colleagues, the sophisticated conservatives see the world, rather than some sector of it, as an object of profit. . . .

The program of the practical Right means slump. The program of the sophisticated Right means war to avoid slump or to recover from it. . . . In a slump groups of fascists, recruited from the lower middle classes of smaller cities, will compete with the sophisticated conservatives for the allegiance of the rank and file of the Right.

GARRISON STATE

No comment is required on this analysis by Mills—an analysis particularly important to Negroes who entertain illusions about their growing stake of "equality" in an economic and social order that is not only doomed but is a menace to mankind. By thinking almost exclusively about the winning of civil rights, Negroes are "walking backwards into the future envisioned by the sophisticated conservatives"; namely, a corporate form of garrison state bristling with external hostility and hated by all the colored peoples of the world. All the Cadillacs and mink coats of all the Negro doctors and realtors will be, in retrospect, an incredible monument to a smug integration of a "minority of a minority" into a society that, in the final moments of its disintegration, is now going berserk. For if America's rulers involve themselves in a war with Communist China, they will quickly fulfill the 30-year-old prediction by Lenin that "New York and London will meet their downfall on the Yangtze River."

If, to influence our individual conduct in this crisis, Mills' scholarly studies need any religious or ethical supplement, Dr. Mordecai Johnson supplied it at the CIO convention in 1950. Dr. Johnson pictured God as pointing a finger at the USA and asking:

Why did I bring you from being the scum of the earth and the outcasts of Europe, despised and rejected, to make you the most resourceful, intelligent and great organizing genius of the human race, with reserve capital unparalleled in the human race?

Do you think that I have brought you to such a place that by order of use of this power you would seize and

(*Continued on page* 512)

L. Aldrich

NEW YORK STATE CONFERENCE—*Some of the delegates and visitors in attendance at the New York state conference at Amityville, Long Island, New York.* BOTTOM: *Personalities in attendance at the conference included, from left, O. Turner, treasurer; Jenny Reid, corresponding secretary, Dawn Force, recording secretary; Effie Gordon, president; Atty. Constance Motley, NAACP assistant special counsel; and Gamorican, first vice-president.*

LIFE MEMBERSHIPS—*Marc Wilcher (left), realtor and broker, hands $50 initial payment on his life membership to Dr. J. W. Dunbar (center), membership chairman of the Akron, Ohio, branch, as Rev. U. S. Munnerlyn (right) looks on.* BOTTOM: *Philadelphia, Penn., business men William Collins, Sr., (left) and Charles Chew, Jr., make initial payments on their life memberships to Dr. Harry Greene (center) of the Philadelphia branch.*

Welcome Announcement NAACP Life Members

THE following individuals and organizations have taken out Life Memberships in the Association since our last issue. They realize that a life membership in the NAACP pays high dividends for democracy.

Dr. Will Taylor, Sr., of Monroe, Louisiana, took out a paid-in-full life membership in September as his bit, he made clear, toward helping the underprivileged. The Grand Order of Odd Fellows of North Carolina, of which Jessie W. Rodgers of Williamston is grand master, made an initial payment of $50.00 on its life membership. The organization said it wants to help remove the cloud of segregation from the South. Bobbie Branche, who has been with the NAACP for 17 years and office manager since 1946, is another staff member who has made an initial payment on her life membership.

Among others who have made initial payments on their life memberships are Dr. J. M. Tinsley of Richmond, Virginia, president of the Virginia state conference of NAACP branches and a member of the National Board; Dr. James J. McClendon of Detroit, Michigan, former president of the Detroit branch and also a member of the National Board; John J. Jones of Texarkana, Texas, chairman of the Southwest Regional advisory board; the Rev. Marshall Shepard of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, former Recorder of Deeds in Washington; W. W. Law of Savannah, Georgia, a member of the National Board and one of the pioneer youth workers in the Association; Dr. George Cannon of New York City, a longtime friend of the Association; Edward R. Murrow, the noted broadcaster and co-producer of "See It Now" and "Person to Person"; the Citizens Republican Club of Philadelphia; Charles Wilhost, Jr., of Bloomfield, New Jersey; the Florida State Federation of Colored Women's Clubs; and Professor S. Ralph Harlow of Oak Bluffs, Massachusetts, a member of the National Board and a distinguished author and scholar. Also Pearl S. Buck, internationally famous novelist.

Mrs. Lula B. White of Houston, Texas, who is director of branches for the state of Texas, has become a paid-in-full member since our last report. Kelly Alexander of Charlotte, North Carolina, is also a paid-in-full

life member. Mr. Alexander is the dynamic leader, as executive secretary, of the Charlotte branch, president of the North Carolina state conference of NAACP branches, and a member of the NAACP National Board. Another paid-in-full life member is Attorney Henry J. Richard of Indianapolis, Indiana.

Below is the list of new Life Membership subscribers for the months of July, August, and September, as we go to press:

Initial Payments

Pearl S. Buck
Perkasie, Pennsylvania
Miss Tracy Baker
Baton Rouge, Louisiana
Junior Leaguers, Inc.
Newark, New Jersey
Reuben Bowie
Portmouth, Virginia
John J. Jones
Texarkana, Texas
Mrs. Miley Williamson
Dayton, Ohio
Dr. I. M. Dasher
Dayton, O.
Mrs. Richard J. Walsh
Perkasie, Pennsylvania
Miss Bobbie Branche
New York City
Richard L. Simon
New York City
Dr. J. M. Tinsley
Richmond, Virginia
Dr. Guy O. Saulsberry
Detroit Michigan
Benevolent Insurance Co.
Shreveport, Louisiana
Dr. Haley Bell
Detroit, Michigan
C. A. Howell
Detroit, Michigan

Initial Payments

Dr. James J. McClendon
Detroit, Michigan
Dr. C. W. Preston
Detroit, Michigan
Bishop George W. Baber
Detroit, Michigan
Frank Barnes
Santa Monica, California
Rev. J. M. Pettigrew
St. Louis, Missouri
Citizens Republican Club
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Atty. Hugh W. Goodwin
Fresno, California
Ladies Auxiliary to the North Mississippi Medical and Dental Society
William Collins
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Dr. Felix Brown
Richmond, Virginia
Atty. Harry S. McAlpin
Louisville, Kentucky
W. E. Shortridge
Birmingham, Alabama
Rev. Marshall Shepard
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Charles H. Chew, Jr.
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Mrs. Bertha C. Bailey
Montgomery, Alabama
Stuard J. Dunnings
Lansing, Michigan
Dr. Clinton Canady
Lansing, Michigan
Vance Allison Post No. 2933 of Veterans of Foreign Wars
Savannah, Georgia
Iota Phi Lambda Sorority
Chicago, Ill.
R. C. Scott
Richmond, Virginia
Pauline Gordon
Johnstown, Pennsylvania

Initial Payments

Charles Wilhoft, Jr.
Bloomfield, New Jersey

Prof. S. Ralph Harlow
Oak Bluffs, Massachusetts

James R. Weatherly
York, Alabama

Dr. John W. Nixon
Birmingham, Alabama

Florida State Federation of Colored Women's Clubs

Dr. R. C. Bryant
Louisville, Kentucky

Benevolent Fund Dist. No. 7, Grand Union Order of Odd Fellows
North Carolina

Prof. Harold J. Berman
Newton Centre, Massachusetts

Dr. George D. Cannon
New York City

Edward R. Murrow
New York City

Paid-in-Full

Dr. Will Taylor, Sr.
Monroe, Louisiana

The American Teachers Association

Jack & Jill of America, Inc.
St. Louis, Missouri

R. A. Lester
Dallas, Texas

Mrs. Lula B. White
Houston, Texas

Richard Rodgers
New York City

Kelly Alexander
Charlotte, North Carolina

Dr. Maurice Rabb
Louisville, Kentucky

Atty. Henry Richardson
Indianapolis, Indiana

LIFE MEMBERSHIPS

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THE NAACP

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Tuskegee	$ 300.00

ARIZONA

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ARKANSAS

El Dorado	25.00
Lake Village	3.00

CONNECTICUT

New Canaan	219.00

FLORIDA

Tri Cities	10.00
Liberty City	75.00

ILLINOIS

Alton	1.05
Tri Cities	1.00

INDIANA

Kokomo	100.00

IOWA

Cedar Rapids	12.00
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KANSAS

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Flint	305.00
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Three Rivers	100.00
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Saginaw	106.00

MISSISSIPPI

Belzoni	60.00

MISSOURI

Columbia	57.70

NEW JERSEY

State Conference	217.00
Atalntic City	100.00
Metuchen	25.00
Montclair	50.00

NEW YORK

Far Rockaway	25.00
Flushing	25.00
Hillburn	25.00
Lackawanna	50.00
New York	231.70
Ossining	100.00

NORTH CAROLINA

North Carolina State Conference	1,500.00

Asheville	10.00
Brunswick	20.00
Casewell County	20.00
Catawba	50.00
Charlotte	200.00
Davie Co. (Mocksville)	10.00
Fayetteville	.50
Franklin Co.	5.00
Gaston County (Gastonia)	25.00
Greensboro	50.00
Harnett	50.00
High Point	50.00
Lee County (Sanford)	50.00
Lower Halifax Co.	20.00
Montgomery	50.00
Moore Co.	5.00
New Bern	50.00
Oxford	40.00
Pasquotank	50.00
Person Co.	10.00
Reidsville	50.00
Richmond Co.	30.00
Rocky Mount	200.00
Edgecombe Co. (Tarboro)	100.00
Statesville	30.00
Henderson (Vance Co.)	50.00
Warren County	25.00

OHIO

Campbell	25.00
Middletown	50.00

OKLAHOMA

Luther	25.00
Ft. Coffee (Le Flore Co.)	5.00

PENNSYLVANIA

Brownsville	117.69
Dauphin	200.00
Pottstown	5.00

SOUTH CAROLINA

South Carolina State	1,000.00
Dunbarton (Williston)	35.00
Estill	18.80
Hardeeville	25.00
Indiantown	25.00
Lake City	25.00
Anderson County	25.00

TEXAS

Denison	72.00
Hearne	5.00
Harlingen	25.00
Lagrange	13.00

VIRGINIA

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Loudoun	25.00

WEST VIRGINIA

Kimball	75.00
Parkersburg	67.50

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MEMBERSHIP SECRETARY

THE NAACP

20 West 40th Street, New York 18, N. Y.

CERTIFICATE OF MERIT *goes to Johnny Woods (left) of the Muskegon, Michigan, branch from the national office for bringing in 62 members. Judge Henry Beers of the Muskegon County Circuit Court formally presents the certificate.* BOTTOM: *Detroit, Michigan, branch president Edward Turner (center) congratulates new life members Dr. Scipio Murphy (left) and Dr. Wendell Cox (right).*

LIFE MEMBERSHIP—*Bernard Brown (center), NAACP midwest field secretary, accepts $500 check from Karl Vollmer, vice-president, of the Falstaff Brewing Corp. of St. Louis, Missouri, to cover company's life membership in NAACP. Others in picture are, from left, Allen McKellar, George Baker, and Norman Thomas, members of the Falstaff sales department.* BOTTOM: *Samuel Otto, Pacific coast director of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, presents $1,000 check to NAACP West Coast regional director Franklin Williams (center). Looking on, from left, Isidor Stenzor, Fannie Borax, and John Ulene, union officials.*

Editorials

DESEGREGATION GOES AHEAD

OUTBREAKS of sordid racism in the border states of Delaware and West Virginia during September are not symptomatic of either southern or border-state reaction to desegregation of the public schools in conformity with the Supreme Court's anti-segregation ruling of May 17, even in these two states. The flare-ups in Milford, Delaware, and White Sulphur Springs, West Virginia, are spectacular because they are exceptions.

In Delaware, schools in Dover, Wilmington and other communities had been integrated without incident. In Milford, center of the present trouble, the protests against desegregation were instigated by a hate-monger named William Bryant Bowles, who is said to be president of the National Association for the Advancement of White People (NAAWP). But from police reports Bowles is a very shoddy character. Delaware State Police report that Bowles was arrested by the Baltimore police on May 12, 1953, on five charges of false pretense. That he was fined $25 and costs on each charge, and that at the time of his arrest in Baltimore he was wanted in Tampa, Florida, in connection with bogus checks.

AN even more sinister figure in the Milford affair is Sheriff Willis V. McCall of Lake county, Florida, who, *Crisis* readers will remember, is the brutal bully who murdered Samuel Shepherd and wounded Walter Lee Irvin while the two handcuffed defendants were being taken from the Florida State Prison at Raiford to Tavares for their new trial ordered by the United States Supreme Court. This was in 1951. Now bully-boy McCall wants to import Lake county *Kultur* into southern Delaware. He is reported to have boasted to a meeting of Milford racists that "thousands of people would come up from Florida and the rest of the South to help them" keep their public schools lily-white.

The flare-up in White Sulphur Springs, West Virginia, stemmed from a few disgruntled parents. According to a report received by the NAACP from an on-the-spot investigator the fathers of some of the white boys on the football squad resented the presence of the Negro boys because they feared these Negro boys might be headed for the first team positions. Therefore the fathers urged the boys to organize a strike against the admission of Negro students to the formerly all-white school. The trouble was not the spontaneous outburst of racial reactionaries nor a genuine mass protest on the part of the pupils.

ACTUALLY West Virginia has a good county-by-county record of integration. Twelve counties have completely integrated their white and Negro pupils, 13 have partially integrated, 18 are waiting, and 11 have no Negro pupils.

The Crisis mentions these two stagy incidents first because they are the ones that have received reams of newspaper publicity and they are not at all indicative of what is really happening as desegregation goes ahead.

The general pattern of desegregation as we go to press is good in the border and non-southern states as the NAACP roundup, "School Desegregation," pp. 491-493, shows. States in the Deep South have adopted a wait-and-see policy and seven states have asked to appear as friends of the court when the Supreme Court hears arguments on December 6 on the kind of decrees it should issue to enforce its May 17 decision—they are Arkansas, Florida, Maryland, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Texas, and Tennessee.

Three states—Georgia, Mississippi, and South Carolina—have expressed determination to resist school integration, even if it means abolishing their public school systems. The state legislatures of Georgia and Mississippi have already approved constitutional amendments which will make abolition of the public schools permissible if state officials decide that the Supreme Court's implementation decision is "unacceptable." Georgia and Mississippi voters will vote on these amendments next month. South Carolina voters approved similar measures in 1952.

THESE three states hope to do through private action what they can no longer do by official action. But *The Crisis* doubts if they will carry out their threats because of the complications and the confusion which is bound to result. For one thing, you cannot collect school taxes if you have no public schools, and their equivalent will have to be raised by private citizens. It is obvious then that well-to-do communities will get good schools and the poorer communities inferior schools. And we cannot imagine South Carolinians and Georgians walking backward, educationally, into the 17th century or standing for the growth of a few Etons and Harrows just to appease a handful of unreconstructed Southerners.

There are, of course, many other problems involved in the abolition of public schools which cannot be discussed here, but they are serious enough to make one pause before taking the step.

The Crisis is convinced that the masses of Southerners will not stand for the abolition of their public school systems. We are not alarmed. Desegregation is going to go ahead throughout those states which have compulsory segregation of black and white pupils. It is going to move faster in some states than in others. And there are going to be petty irritations and occasional Milfords, but the racists will not be able to push back the hand of history.

DR. LEON RANSOM

THERE are always men who want to live up to the best in them and who are more interested in character and values and ways of life than in mere personal gain. Dr. Leon Ransom was such a man (p. 494). Dr. Ransom began working with the NAACP as soon as he joined the Howard University law school faculty, and he gave of his best to the Association's and the Negro's cause throughout his life.

Death came to Dr. Ransom at his home in Washington, D.C., on August 25. *The Crisis* and the NAACP will miss him, the great fighter in the liberation war of humanity.

Good News

E. P. Westmoreland, formerly with the Board of Education of the District of Columbia, has been named chief advisor of technical training for the Indonesian Ministry of Education. Mr. Westmoreland's services were obtained for Indonesia by the Tuskegee Institute of Alabama. This is believed to be the first time a Negro institution has sent a specialist to a foreign country in a similar capacity, although Negro Americans have assisted the U.S. Foreign Operations Administrations in its activities abroad.

★ ★ ★

Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, associate professor of psychology of the College of the City of New York, has been elected to the board of directors of the National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students, Inc.

★ ★ ★

Brigadier General (retired) Richard L. Jones has been appointed director of the United States Foreign Operations Mission to Liberia. Mr. Jones is the first Negro Brigadier General in the history of the Illinois State National Guard.

★ ★ ★

Dr. Joseph H. Douglass, a member of the faculty of Fayetteville State Teachers College, has resigned his position to accept a post in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare in the United States Office of Education, Washington, D. C.

★ ★ ★

Lennie Carl Green of Atlanta, Georgia, Spelman '32, was honored on July 20 as one of six outstanding representatives of the nation's teachers. The ceremony honoring the teachers was one of the special events of Columbia University's Bicentennial.

★ ★ ★

Maceo A. Thomas, 57-year-old salesman and real estate broker, was sworn in on July 6 as foreman of the July Bronx grand jury. He is the first Negro to be named to such a post in the county's history.

★ ★ ★

John W. Roxborough II of Detroit, Michigan, has been appointed consultant to Secretary of States, John Foster Dulles.

★ ★ ★

Mrs. Aminda Wilkins, who had for three years been in charge of New York City's Welfare Department's program for tubercular relief clients, was sworn in on August 10 by Commissioner Henry McCarthy as secretary of the department. Mrs. Wilkins, who is wife of NAACP administrator Roy Wilkins, succeeds Mrs. Edith Alexander, who left to join the staff of the Mayor's Advisory Council.

★ ★ ★

The executive director of the National Urban League, Lester Granger, has been elected to the board of trustees of the New York School of Social Work, Columbia University, New York City.

★ ★ ★

Howard H. Mackey, Sr., head of the department of architecture at Howard University, Washington, D. C., has been assigned to British Guiana and Dutch Guiana as a housing specialist under the auspices of the University of Maryland.

★ ★ ★

Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjold of the United Nations has named Dr. Ralph Bunche as one of two UN under secretaries without portfolio.

★ ★ ★

When James Ernest Wilkins, assistant secretary of labor, attended a cabinet meeting on August 18 at the White House, he became the first Negro in American history to attend a cabinet meeting as a departmental representative.

★ ★ ★

The Rev. Walter P. Offutt, Jr., who was for seven years church secretary of the NAACP, was appointed in September as an associate secretary of the Manhattan Division of the Protestant Council of the City of New York. Rev. Offutt will have responsibility for youth work, Christian social relations, and other aspects of the Council's work in Manhattan.

Scurlock

DOCTORS AID NAACP LEGAL DEFENSE—*Dr. A. M. Townsend, St. Louis physician and chairman board of trustees of National Medical Association, presents* $2,000 *check to Dr. W. Montague Cobb (right), Howard University professor and chairman of NAACP national health committee. Presentation was made during 59th annual NMA convention in Washington, D. C., on August* 10, *while Dr. A. Porter Davis (Center), NMA president of Kansas City, Kansas, looks on.* BOTTOM: *Mrs. L. C. Bates, Little Rock, Arkansas, president Arkansas state NAACP conference, receives Thalheimer Award from Dr. U. S. Wiggins of NAACP board at 45th annual NAACP convention in Dallas, Texas. The Arkansas conference was cited for its participation in a rape case involving a* 16*-year-old Negro girl attacked by a white man, for eliminating racial discrimination at an airport, and for working to end segregation in public schools and other public facilities.*

Looking and Listening . . .

CHURCH WOMEN REPUDIATE SEGREGATION

WOMEN church leaders from 15 southern states have pledged themselves to work for a Christian society in which segregation is no longer a burden upon the human spirit."

In a statement which was sent to governors and other officials of the 15 states, the women accepted "with humility" the recent Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation in public schools and called it an "opportunity of translating into reality Christian and democratic ideals."

They recognized, however, that this opportunity would bring with it a need for "patience, understanding and creative action" and expressed their desire to "build Christian emotional maturity" to meet the need.

The statement was adopted unanimously at a two-day regional meeting held in Atlanta, Georgia, June 21-22, at which the women discussed how they might best work with ministers, government, and community agencies to meet the problem of segregation in the South, particularly in the light of the Supreme Court decision.

The meeting was sponsored by the Department of Christian Social Relations of the General Department of United Church Women, National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America. Esther Stamats, director of the department, said it was the first meeting of this kind ever called.

OVERCROWDING IN CITIES

THE worldwide trend to migrate to the cities has resulted in almost unbelievable overcrowding. In Bombay, India, for instance, tenements average more than seven persons a room. In Panama, as many as 20 persons occupy a room of 15 by 15 feet, sleeping in relays. Space is so scarce in Bolivia that a single room in a crude cabin must serve one or more families and their domestic animals. An official survey in Istanbul, Turkey, showed that the number of persons per dwelling increased from 5.95 in 1927 to 9.49 in 1950.

Yet, contrary to popular belief, there is really no scarcity of land for cities, if only they were properly planned. Indeed, the earth's entire population could be housed at a density of 25 to the acre on the 143,000 square miles of Germany. (The population density of Manhattan Island, New York City, is 136).

These are the conclusions of a United States housing expert, Charles Abrams, writing in *Urban Land Problems and Policies*, a 182-page study published recently by the Housing and Town and Country Planning Section of the United Nations. This book—the first compre-

hensive survey of land and housing problems in the postwar world—represents almost three years' work by housing experts from Belgium, Denmark, France, India, Israel, Latin America, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, the United Kingdom and the United States.

Migration to the cities and overcrowding of dwellings are not the only housing problems common to most countries. Mr. Abrams lists four others: slums, squatting, the cost of adequate shelter, which unless subsidized is more than most families can afford to pay, and social maladjustments arising out of the housing problem.

Common problems in cities also include a growing insecurity of tenure, Mr. Abrams reports, a more intensive use of land in cities coupled with suburban growth, boundary obstructions, and a growing tendency to build for homogenous groups.

Moreover, the pressure for housing almost everywhere has expanded governmental controls over land operations. "There has been more drastic use of existing controls, and the institutions of new types of controls and land-planning policies," Mr. Abrams says. "The area of public intervention now ranges from greater restrictions on building and renting to land nationalization."

The UN study points out that the gap between what lower income groups can afford to pay and the rent required to carry a building has generally widened with the years because of a technological lag, rising costs of materials, labor shortages, and building laws which impose more costly standards. In Italy, rents for new housing takes as much as 40 to 50 percent of workers' income, as against the 20 percent generally regarded as the safe maximum. Swiss workers pay up to 40 percent, German workers about 35 percent.

Nowhere has the housing industry advanced sufficiently to meet the needs of lower income families without the aid of public subsidy in one form or another, he maintains. Even in highly industrialized regions, home construction has remained essentially a handicraft operation with most of the work done directly at the site. "It has been estimated that if an American automobile costing $1,704 were built in 1949 with 1910 tools (as houses in the United States are being built today) its cost would be $60,000, Mr. Abrams observes.

FOREIGN PRESS

A. G. HEINIS of Strasbourg, France, sends *The Crisis* a few clippings from the French press on the anti-segregation decision of the United States Supreme Court.

A story in *Le Monde* (May 19) carries this headline: "Check to Racial Segregation in the United States." The story calls attention to the Dred Scott decision which decreed that the Negro was not a citizen. Now, ninety-seven years later, this same court, as a guardian of the Constitution, has interpreted the 14th Amendment as outlawing racial segregation in public schools.

"This long awaited decision is a victory for justice and democracy over race prejudice and the American government was showing its awareness of its significance when it had the Voice of America broad-

(*Continued on page* 512)

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

GIFTS

Medical Men: A contribution of the National Medical Association of $2,000 to the NAACP Legal Defense Fund has been hailed as "a tremendous stimulus to . . . the ten-year freedom campaign looking toward full realization of the provisions of the Emancipation Proclamation by its centennial in 1963."

In a telegram to Dr. A. M. Townsend, chairman of the NMA's board of trustees, Roy Wilkins, NAACP administrator, expressed thanks for the "generous contribution" and said that he was "certain that it will act as an inspiration to other organized groups so that by our combined and persistent efforts second-class citizenship based upon race and color will be completely eliminated from American life."

The sum was voted unanimously by the House of Delegates of NMA, following an appeal by Dr. W. Montague Cobb, member of the NAACP board of directors and chairman of the Association's national health committee. Dr. A. Porter Davis is president of the national medical society, which held its 59th annual convention in Washington.

Teachers' Group: The American Teachers' Association, the largest body of organized Negro teachers in the country, has paid in a $500 life membership in the Association as part of its contribution to the Fight For Freedom campaign. The payment was sent in by Dr. H. Council Trenholm, executive secretary of ATA, of Montgomery, Alabama. Administrator Roy Wilkins hailed the membership as "a continuing indication that the vast majority of Negro teachers in the nation, contrary to propaganda, is in favor of the drive to end segregation in the public schools."

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

Segregation Out in Some Towns: When school opened last month, Negro and white children were sharing classrooms in a number of southern communities where strict racial segregation had been maintained by state law.

Without waiting for the Supreme Court to issue decrees implementing its decision which held public school segregation to be unconstitutional, some Southern localities went ahead and desegregated their public schools at the beginning of the fall term.

Similar action was taken by several southern colleges and universities, as well as by some private schools, in the South.

Communities and cities located in five southern states had announced public school integration for September: West Virginia, Missouri, Arkansas, Maryland and Delaware.

In addition, public schools in the District of Columbia were integrated for the first time in September.

In the five southern states where school integration was scheduled on the local level, a total of at least 23 towns or cities and one county had set their action for September.

In several instances, integration was accomplished during the summer term: Kansas City and Columbia, Mo., and in Wilmington, Del., where Negro students had enrolled during the summer in what had been all-white public schools.

MISSOURI AHEAD

Of the five Southern states in which public school integration plans proceeded on the local level, Missouri is out front in desegregating her schools.

In addition to the Kansas City, Mo., public summer schools, which opened their doors to all students, Kansas City Teachers' College followed suit. The Kansas City board of education has adopted a plan to end segregation in public summer schools, to integrate vocational and junior colleges this fall, and to complete integration in all public schools by September, 1955

In St. Louis, Mo., a carefully drawn-up desegregation plan was made public which specified integration of the two teachers' colleges and the handicapped childrens' schools this September and of the high schools by February 1 of next year. The St. Louis elementary schools will stop segregating children in September, 1955.

In Columbia, Mo., home of the state university, public school integration started during the summer. Race barriers were dropped this fall at the University of Missouri and at its School of Mines in Rolla, as well as in the kindergarten, primary, and high schools operated by the University's School of Education in Columbia.

Other Missouri towns which integrated their public schools last month were Springfield, New Haven, Fredericktown, Kirksville, Clayton and St. Joseph. High schools only were desegregated in Kennett, LaBelle, Macon, Butler, Woodcrest, West Plains, Shelbina, Fulton, Jefferson City, Mexico, and Carthage. Similar action for the elementary schools only was carried out in September in Kirkwood and St. Charles.

OTHER STATES

Segregated public schools went out in September in Baltimore, Md., and Monongalia County, W. Va., while the Fayetteville, Ark., high school enrolled students of both races for the first time in September.

In the field of higher education, the fall term found both white and Negro students welcomed at previously segregated Middle Tennessee State College, Murfreesboro, Tenn.; the University of Arkansas, Little Rock, Ark.; the Hardin Junior College of Midwest University, Wichita Falls, Texas; the two teachers colleges in Washinton, D. C.; the nine state colleges in West Virginia; Lincoln University, Jefferson City, Mo.; Southwest Missouri State College, Springfield, Mo.; Joplin (Mo.) Junior College; and Central Missouri State College, Fayette, Mo.

In several communities outside the 17 southern and border states which enforced segregation by state law, the segregation of public school children on a municipal basis was ended in September. These towns include Hobbs, N. M.; Phoenix, Ariz.; Pasadena, Calif.; and Chester, Pa.

LATER DATE SET

Integration has been set for 1955 in a number of southern communities. In January, 1955, the junior and senior high schools of Kirkwood, Mo., will begin operation on an integrated basis. In September, 1955, the high schools in St. Charles, Mo., and all the public schools in Charleston, Hancock County, and Kanawha County, W. Va., and in Warrensburg, Mo., will integrate.

Since the Supreme Court declared public school segregation unconstitutional, a number of private southern schools have voluntarily given up segregation. This past summer, a vacation Bible school conducted by the Parkersburg, V. Va., First Baptist Church for the first time welcomed and enrolled children of both races. In Virginia, the Catholic schools in Roanoke, Arlington, Fairfax, and Falls Church were integrated this fall, as were the four Catholic high schools in Richmond.

It has been announced that the Catholic school system of Baltimore, Md., will be desegregated at an unspecified later date.

VOTING

First Negro Voter: The first Negro to vote in the United States after the 15th amendment to the Constitution was declared in effect was honored at a graveside ceremony in El Paso, Illinois, in August. David A. Strother of El Paso cast his historic ballot in a city election in El Paso on April 4, 1870. The 15th amendment went into effect on March 30 of that same year.

At the memorial service for Mr. Strother, conducted during the El Paso centennial celebration, a Freedom Caravan of 20 automobiles led by the Rev. B. N. Moore came from nearby Peoria to participate in the ceremonies. Mr. Moore is president of the Peoria branch of the NAACP.

Billy Jones, president of the Illinois state conference of NAACP branches, also spoke at the services.

The NAACP delegation presented a plaque to the town of El Paso for

erection above the site where Mr. Strothers operated a barber shop for ten years. The plaque was accepted by Mayor George W. Graack on behalf of the city.

Article 15 of the U.S. Constitution states that the rights of citizens to vote shall not be denied on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude.

Mr. Strother was the first Negro to vote when the amendment went into effect by virtue of the fact that the El Paso city election was held one day earlier than most other elections that month.

IN MEMORIAM

Dr. Leon Ransom: Tribute to the public services of Dr. Leon Ransom, an outstanding civil-rights attorney, who died at his home in Washington on August 25, were paid during that same week by officials of the NAACP.

Arthur E. Spingarn, president of the NAACP and himself a lawyer, noting Dr. Ransom's many years of legal service to the cause of Negro rights, said: "While many talented lawyers became too busy with their private affairs to devote much time to public service, Dr. Ransom over the years gave brilliant and devoted attention to legal cases in the civil rights field, often with no more reward than his bare expenses and the satisfaction of having established a new frontier in civil rights law for the benefit of his people."

Thurgood Marshall, special counsel of the NAACP, recalling the years of advice and actual trial work given by Dr. Ransom to numerous NAACP legal cases, declared: "Negro Americans, whether they know it or not, owe a great debt of gratitude to Andy Ransom and men like him who battled in the courts down a span of years to bring us to the place we now occupy in the enjoyment of our constitutional rights as citizens. In helping to build up the NAACP legal program step by step, in the skill which he gave to individual cases and to the planning of strategy, Dr. Ransom left a legacy to the whole population. One of his finest and most lasting contributions was the legal education he gave as professor of law to scores of students at Howard, including myself."

Dr. Ransom was a graduate of the law school of Ohio State University and received the highest marks ever to have been earned up to that time. He began working with the NAACP as soon as he joined the faculty of the Howard University Law School in 1931. One of his first important cases involved George Crawford of Loudoun County, Va., whom he defended jointly with the late Charles H. Houston. He was active in most of the suits to equalize teachers' salaries, the Baltimore County high school cases, and the University of Tennessee cases. He argued a number of criminal cases on appeal before the United States Supreme Court and, with Z. Alexander Looby of Nashville, Tenn., successfully defended the Negroes involved in the Columbia, Tenn., riot of 1946. In this case, no Negroes were allowed in the town where the trial was held and Dr. Ransom, Mr. Looby, and

Thurgood Marshall had to drive 75 miles each way a day to be present in court.

Dr. Ransom was a member of the NAACP national legal committee from 1932 until his death, also of the legal committee of the District of Columbia branch of the NAACP. He was also a member of the legal staff of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund up to the time of his death.

From his vacation spot Walter White, NAACP secretary, telegraphed: "Beginning with the Crawford case and through all the others, not only Andy Ransom's legal talent was evident, but his devotion to the cause of freedom as well."

AWARDS

Thurgood Marshall: Thurgood Marshall, NAACP special counsel who successfully argued the case for integrated public schools before the United States Supreme Court, was honored on September 5 by a Jewish fraternal order as "a valiant defender of the rights of all minorities in proving that segregation is a violation of the tenets of American democracy."

Mr. Marshall was presented with a Human Rights Award by the Workmen's Circle, an anti-totalitarian group with some 70,000 members in the United States and Canada. The scroll, tendered Mr. Marshall by Jacob Zukerman, Workmen's Circle president, further cited the civil rights attorney for proving that "jurisprudence in a democracy is the musket of freedom."

On October 3 the New York City chapter of the Girl Friends, Inc., honored Mr. Marshall, his legal staff and associates for their fight to outlaw segregation in the public schools throughout the country at the Savoy Ballroom, New York City.

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What the Branches Are Doing

California: THE WEST COAST REGION publishes an informative 24-page booklet called "Freedom's Frontier" which sets forth the achievements and tasks "ahead of us in the West." Here are some of the "glaring inequalities" to be found on the West Coast:

"We are not yet free to live where we choose; we are denied jobs, and promotion in our places of employment, solely because of race; too many doors in too many places of public accomodation are closed in our faces; racial segregation has intruded into some of our public school systems; and there are remnants of racial segregation in bus and rail transportation."

A suit seeking $6,000 in damages for injuries sustained by a SAN FRANCISCO couple was filed against two Park Station police officers in the local municipal court in August. Sgt. Daniel Quinlan and patrolman Albert Perry were named as the defendants in the suit growing out of an incident at the home of James and Dolores Eliston, 611 Waller Street, on August 13. The Elistons charge that the two policemen, "without right or authority," came upon their premises and violently assaulted the Negro couple with their fists and blackjacks.

Injuries sustained by Mr. Eliston were listed in the suit as cerebral concussion, contusions of the head, contusions of the chest, lumbo sacral (back) and contusions of the abdomen. Mrs. Eliston charges that she suffered injuries about the head, face, and chest at the hands of the police officers.

The altercation involving the policemen and the Elistons grew out of a complaint that a neighbor's child had taken $2.00 and divided it with the other children, including the nephews of the Elistons, ages 6 and 8. When the officers threatened to take the boys off to juvenile authorities, Mrs. Eliston offered to pay back the $2.00. When Mr. Eliston came upon the scene and told one of the officers "That's a silly thing to do," the attack began.

Several officials of the West Coast region have filed suits against the Resthaven Motel, 2015 Lincoln Boulevard, Santa Monica, seeking damages amounting to $2,500 for refusing to honor their reservations when they tried to claim their lodgings. The plaintiffs, Joseph Kennedy, his wife and daughter, Jane Bosfield and Lester Bailey, were on their way to attend the Dallas convention of the NAACP.

Franklin Williams, West Coast regional director, was one of the speakers at the 52nd annual convention of the California State Federation of Labor in August. Field secretary Tarea Hall Pittman formally installed officers of the newly organized EUREKA branch on August 29. And on August 31 field secretary Lester Bailey addressed the Channing Club of Eureka on "Implementing the Supreme Court Decision" on racial segregation in the public schools.

Administrator Roy Wilkins was principal speaker at the region-wide NAACP conference held at ASILOMAR October 15-17.

Connecticut: An organizational meeting of the New England regional conference was held in HARTFORD on May 23. The conference was the guest of the Hartford branch.

Illinois: The Illinois conference of branches presented a four-point program to the platform committee of the central committee of the Democratic party of Illinois in September: FEPC legislation with provisions for a state agency with enforcement powers; more rigid enforcement of the civil rights laws in Illinois; more effective action to suppress acts of violence against racial minorities; and a pledge from state school districts to comply with the Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation in the public schools.

A delegation representing the CHICAGO branch met with Mayor Kennelly and Chicago housing coordinator James Downes in August to protect the demotion and subsequent dismissal of Elizabeth Wood from her position as executive secretary with the Chicago Housing Authority. The delegation felt that Miss Wood's forthright stand against segregation was reason for her dismissal.

A series of civil suits for damages against participants in rioting actions at the Trumbull Park Homes have been filed on behalf of Negro tenants who have been attacked by rioters and against police officers for improper and ineffective police action.

Michigan: The BATTLE CREEK branch went over its quota in their recent membership campaign under membership chairman, G. L. Maxwell.

Minnesota: Executive secretary Walter White was the main speaker at the September meeting of the MINNEAPOLIS branch. Mr. White spoke on the subject "Where Are We Going in Civil Rights?"

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION IN NEW MEXICO

Hobart LaGrone, president of the state conference in New Mexico, sends the following report on school desegregation in his state:

"New Mexico became one of the first states to complete the program of desegregation following the May 17 Supreme Court decision. At the end of the last school year New Mexico had six communities, of an original ten, where segregation existed at various levels in the school system. Hobbs and Clovis, New Mexico, had completely segregated schools for Negroes from the first through the twelfth grades. At Artesia, Carlsbad, Las Cruces, and Roswell the schools had been integrated above the junior high school, or at the high school level. In the four years prior to the end of the 1954 school year, four other schools had desegregated voluntarily or under pressure of continued action on the part of the NAACP to repeal the permissible statute under which segregated schools existed.

"Upon the return of the state officials of the New Mexico conference of branches from the national NAACP convention at Dallas, where a 1955 deadline was set for desegregation, the president of the New Mexico state conference of branches, Hobart L. LaGrone, announced through the Associated Press that the NAACP would set a goal of desegregation for the beginning of the 1954-55 school year. The announcement stated that desegregation petitions would be filed with the school boards in those communities where a voluntary program of desegregation had not already been announced, as was the case of Hobbs.

"Immediately following this announcement, the school board at Clovis and at Artesia called in local and state officers of the NAACP to confer with

them on an outlined program of desegregation. In both instances the programs outlined were consistent with the Supreme Court decision and were acceptable to NAACP officials. Petitions were then mailed to branch presidents at Carlsbad, Las Cruces, and Roswell, and were circulated. In the case of Las Cruces and Carlsbad, the filing of the petitions became unnecessary when the school boards published new school zonings with the announcement that children living within those zones would attend the schools within the zones. In both of these communities, due to population distribution, Negroes in the elementary grades will attend the former Negro schools. However, the zoning included white and other students living within the area served by the former colored schools, and such white students are required to attend these former colored schools.

"Only Roswell was then segregated, up to the sixth grade. NAACP officials in Roswell filed a petition with the school board and NAACP state officers announced to the press that only Roswell was delaying complete desegregation in New Mexico. Immediately following the publication of this story, the Roswell school board called in local NAACP officials at Roswell for conference, and the next day announced a program of desegregation.

"In New Mexico no Negro teacher has lost a job as a result of the desegregation program. In each case the full staff of Negro teachers has been retained, and in some instances Negroes have been spread throughout the city in various grade and high schools, as is the case in Hobbs. We are advised that in Clovis colored teachers who are specialists will be moved from one city school to another to instruct in their particular fields.

"Because of a broad program of teacher and pupil integration at Hobbs, racial disturbance was barely avoided when a white Baptist minister, Rev. Bill Carter, started an anti-desegregation movement and took direct steps to incite riot action. As soon as such action was threatened, state officials of the NAACP called upon the U.S. District Attorney and state authorities to alert law enforcement officials, including federal authorities and the state police and militia, to protect the civil rights of Negroes in Hobbs. Both groups went into immediate action, and when the district attorney at Hobbs called in the leaders of the anti-desegregation movement and advised them that they would be held directly responsible for any violence growing out of desegregation, the excitement at Hobbs immediately died.

"With the public schools in New Mexico well into their fifth week under an integrated program, there has been no disturbance or any indication that the program will not work out well hereafter."

Ohio: Deborah Ann Russell, age 16 months, was first prize winner in a baby contest conducted by the Junior Women's Auxiliary of the CLEVELAND branch. Deborah Ann is the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. William Russell, 2540 East 83rd Street, Cleveland.

The Junior Women's Auxiliary was organized in December 1946 by the late Mrs. Lillie T. Gorman, mother of assistant field secretary, Gertrude Gorman. This group of young women organized themselves to help the branch in its Fight for Freedom. They have given office furniture, filing cabinets, files, an addressograph, and office supplies to the branch; and since the death of Mrs. Gorman, they have given a check for $1,000 to the branch for current expenses. The group at present is working on the branch fall membership campaign, which began September 19. Mrs. Robbie Purdyis is president

of the Junior Women's Auxiliary and Dr. James Levy is branch president.

DEBORAH ANN RUSSELL

Pennsylvania: Reba Bowie, a member of the executive committee of the PHILADELPHIA branch, has been appointed chairman of the branch's membership renewal drive designed to get every holder of a 1953 membership card to renew for 1954.

The branch has called attention of the Pennsylvania Liquor Control Board to the fact that many taverns throughout the state are violating the State's Accomodations Act of 1939. One tavern owner in Dowington, for instance, refused to serve two Negroes on the grounds that the state gave him the right to serve those he wanted to serve.

In August the branch announced a detailed plan which it intends to put into immediate effect to broaden the apprenticeship training for Negroes in the building construction field, a field difficult for Negroes to crack.

In a memorandum issued in September by the Philadelphia branch conclusive facts are revealed to show the "delaying" tactics which has allowed the Boulevard Pool to complete its summer operations on a discriminatory basis.

The tactics followed the pattern used to bar Negroes from the Pool during the summer of 1953.

On March 10 of last year, at the conclusion of the trial in Common Pleas Court Number Two, President Judge Edwin O. Lewis stated: ". . . I cannot see any doubt of the power of the Court of Equity to enjoin this continued disregard of a law that has been declared a public policy of the State . . ."

Six months later, on September 2, President Judge Lewis issued a decree in which he stated that the right of Negroes to enter Boulevard Pool on a non-discriminatory basis was guaranteed by the Act of June 24, 1939. He then proceeded to enjoin the management from further discriminatory exclusion.

In spite of these orders the summer of 1953 went by and no Negroes were admitted to the Pool—although a number tried to use the Pool's facilities. On March 9, 1954, the Court entered its "final" decree which simply restated its earlier injunction.

When Negroes sought admission to the Pool this summer they found that they were still being barred because of their race. The Philadelphia branch, the American Civil Liberties Union, and the city's Commission on Human Relations then demanded the arrest of the Pool's manager for contempt of Court.

The attachment case for enforcing the Court's order was postponed on

August 25, and on August 31, Judge Maurice Sporkin, who heard the case, said the order was not "clear." He added that he could not decide the case until some "clarification" could be obtained from vacationing Judge Lewis. Judge Vincent A. Carroll concurred in this maneuver.

Finally, on September 1 the decision was reserved for lack of clarification until the return of Judge Lewis whose orders were being violated. Yet, at the contempt hearing on September 7, both Judge Sporkin and Judge Carroll then said that the order was in "clear and unmistakable" language.

The memorandum circulated by the branch pointed out that the defendants would not have violated the Court's order if they thought it would have been enforced.

The defendants have admitted that Negroes have been systematically excluded from the use of the Pool's facilities. This, the Court and the whole community know, continues the memorandum.

The branch contends that the contempt of Court action on the part of the Pool's management, which extended over a period of months, should have been prosecuted immediately.

On Labor Day, a token number of Negroes were admitted to the Pool. It was reported that the management had informed the Court that the Pool would remain open as long as the weather was suitable as evidence of the management's good faith in admitting Negroes. On September 7, the same day of the contempt hearing, the Pool was closed.

Branch officials now fear a move toward incorporating the establishment in an attempt to circumvent the Court's order next summer. If such a maneuver is successful the long drawn out fight to have Negroes admitted will have to be started anew.

The memorandum concluded: "We have, all of us, been irreparably damaged by a display of open lawlessness and contempt for a solemn order of Court. We think it plain that the summer has died and so have the hopes of an abused minority people for the timely protection of rights piously guaranteed to them. An important aspect of our vaunted democratic order has joined the waning season."

Washington: The SEATTLE branch proudly reports the addition of five new pledged life members: Dr. John Browning, Oscar Claibourne, Prentis Frazier, James McIver, and Columbus Honeysuckle.

The branch has also established an NAACP credit union to benefit its membership in the making of loans to be applied to real estate. Philip Burton is president; Harold Morris, vice-president; Mrs. June Smith, treasurer; Mrs. Leola Lewis, secretary; and board members are Edward White, Benjamin McAdoo, Lawrence Winston, and Dr. Leon Levy.

The branch legal redress committee has recently concerned itself with the problem of the racial designation on automobile driver's licenses in the state of Washington. Other methods having failed, the branch has passed a resolution to bring a mandamus action against the State Director of Licenses in Washington forcing him to delete the racial tag from the face of driver's licenses.

College and School News

Three Negro students received Ph.D. degrees at the summer convocation of OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY in August: Morgan C. Brown, Columbus Ohio; Allie Clay Felder, Jr., Hampton, Virginia; and Carl L. Marshall, Springfield, Ohio.

Fifteen received masters' degrees at the same convocation: Eddie Ainsworth, Juette Day, Othello Guilford, Marjorie Holland, Marie Holley, Jennie Mitchell, Charles Morton, Milton Rose, Ruby Smith, Benjamine Waterman, Ora Mae Gilmore, Asa Cline Sims, Jr., Myrtle Lee Smith, Velma Thomas, and Charles Williams.

■

The Bayou Boys State held its annual meeting of practical Amercanism on the campus of SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY last June. Boys State, Inc., which is sponsored by the American Legion Department of Louisiana, aims to educate youth in the duties, privileges, rights and responsibilities of citizenship.

■

Dr. J. Ward Seabrook, president of the FAYETTEVILLE STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE, has been appointed to membership on Governor William B. Umstead's nineteen-member advisory committee on the issue of segregation in the public schools of North Carolina.

Bids were opened on August 5 on a new fire-proof, brick dormi-

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tory for men at Fayetteville. The dormitory, a two-story structure, will house 56 students and the dormitory directors.

Other construction that is part of the Fayetteville building program is as follows: an infirmary, $135,000; additions to the laundry, $55,000; repairs and additions to the Industrial Building, $74,000; repairs and equipment for other dormitories, $63,000; campus improvement and roads, $52,000; enlargement, seating and lighting of athletic field, $52,000; and additional equipment for library, $6,000.

■

Howard university medical school and Meharry medical college were included in grants totaling $2,176,-904.71 awarded in August to the nations 80 medical schools by the NATIONAL FUND FOR MEDICAL EDUCATION. The grants were made possible by gifts from business and the medical profession. Howard received $22,970.85; Meharry, $21,573.34.

S. Sloan Colt, president of the NFME as well as the Bankers Trust Company, New York City, explained that the Fund grants, which are unrestricted, are used by the schools primarily to fill teaching vacancies, to create new faculty posts, and to initiate courses in areas of recent scientific advances.

■

Dr. Marguerite Cartwright, HUNTER COLLEGE (New York City) instructor and 1954-55 grantee under the Fund for Adult Education of the Ford Foundation, has recently returned to New York City after a study of human relations programs

in various cities.

■

UNESCO has recently released two education books: *Men Against Ignorance*, focused on the underdeveloped areas; *The International Yearbook of Education 1953. Men Against Ignorance* contains a selection of articles written by four news correspondents who, over the past three years, have visited countries in South Asia, Latin America, and West Africa to report on educational and other UN activities for their newspapers. The correspondents are Richie Calder, science editor of the London, England, News Chronicle; Ronald Stead, foreign correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor; Andre Blanchet of Le Monde in Paris; and Tibor Mende of the French periodical Realities.

The International Yearbook of Education is issued annually by UNESCO and the International Bureau of Education (IBE) following a joint meeting, usually in July, at which the national contributions to the Yearbook are discussed. Despite the economic crisis, the amount of money spent on education during 1953 increased throughout the world, according to the current report. In some exceptional cases national budgets for public education were 42 percent, 66 percent, and 70 percent higher than in the previous year; the general average of the increases was 16 percent.

■

The fourteenth CONFERENCE ON SCIENCE, PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION in their relation to the democratic way of life was held at the Lamont

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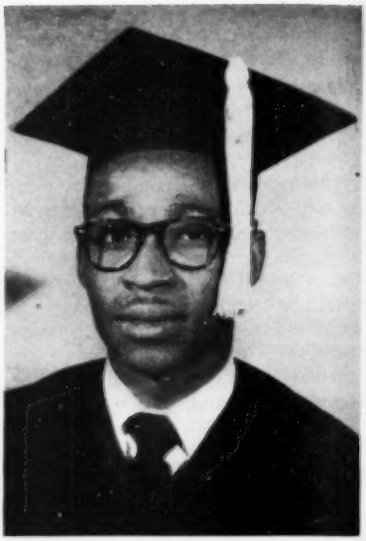

IVIE BURCH, *graduated with highest honors, Florida A & M., 1954.*

Library of Harvard university August 30-September 2, 1954. Nearly one hundred scholars and others were in attendance to review various aspects of the problem, "Symbols and Society."

■

Phillip S. Smith, highest ranking student in the 1954 graduating class of the DOUGLASS HIGH SCHOOL, Hannibal, Missouri, won the C. W. Carter Memorial Scholarship Award, $100, sponsored by the Hannibal branch of the NAACP.

Betty Jean Forte, a Douglass high sophomore, was first place winner of the Ida Dulany Mahan Literary Awards presented for outstanding

work in prose writing. She was in city-wide competition with students from Hannibal High School.

■

Attorney William T. Coleman, Jr., delivered the keynote address at the commencement exercises of the WILLIAM PENN BUSINESS INSTITUTE, Philadelphia, held at the Bright Hope Baptist church, 12th and Oxford Streets. Attorney Coleman spoke on the challenges and opportunities of the business world. President C. W. Maxwell conferred diplomas and certificates upon 58 graduates representing seven divisions from the day and evening school.

■

Dr. Herman G. Canady, professor of psychology at WEST VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE, is the author of an 11-page pamphlet titled "The Psychology of the American Negro." The pamphlet is the June, 1954, issue of the *West Virginia State College Bulletin.*

■

The commencement address at ALABAMA STATE COLLEGE summer session was delivered by President Stephen J. Wright of Bluefield State. The 601 candidates for diplomas and degrees included 9 from the senior high school, 27 from the junior college, 4 from the Alabama State branch at Mobile, 468 for the B.S. degree, and 93 for the Ed. M.

■

THE AMERICAN TEACHERS ASSOCIATION brought its total contributions to the NAACP up to $19,000 through its annual contribution,

PHILLIP SMITH, *highest ranking student Douglass High School, Hannibal, Mo. Recipient Hannibal NAACP branch $100 scholarship award.*

which was received in person by Thurgood Marshall at the 51st ATA convention held in Nashville.

Sixteen years ago at its Tuskegee convention, the ATA authorized that one-tenth of its annual-membership income be donated annually to the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund for assistance in the prosecution of the cases in behalf of equality of educational opportunity for all pupils and of equality of professional status for all teachers. This allocation has been contributed to the NAACP each year, and in Orangeburg in 1953 an extra $3,400 was contributed to make the total $5,000 for 1953 in recognition of the special need of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund.

Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, president of MOREHOUSE COLLEGE, delivered one of the principal addresses at the conference of the World Council of Churches, which convened on the campus of Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, August 15-31.

Dr. Mays, who is a member of the central committee, the 90-member policy making body of the WCC, serves also on several other committees and commissions of the organization.

The first assembly of the World Council of Churches was held in Amsterdam, Holland, in 1948, when the group was organized. At the second assembly in Evanston some 50 countries and 160 denominations were represented.

■

Among the groups participating in the annual summer school concert of ATLANTA UNIVERSITY were the 50-voice Atlanta University Summer School Chorus, the members of the Men's Chorus, two pianists, and two vocalists. The two pianists were Frances Chapman and Vivian Stodghill of Atlanta; the vocalists were Lucinda Saunders and Frederick Van Catledge.

Professor Samuel Williams of Morehouse was one of the summer school speakers. He spoke on "Communist Infiltration of Intellectual, Professional and Cultural Groups."

A conference on Negro business—past, present and future—was sponsored by the graduate school of business administration of Atlanta in October. Discussion at the two-day meeting centered around Negro business in an integrated economy.

The AU school of business administration is offering an evening course in real estate principles. The

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■

Young women entering SPELMAN COLLEGE this September may select a major in physical education, health, and recreation. Dr. Ellen Neall Duvall of Richmond, Virginia, will head up the program in physical education.

■

Dr. Hardy Liston, president of JOHNSON C. SMITH UNIVERSITY, was one of 43 official delegates representing approximately two and a half million members of the Presbyterian Church, USA, at the 17th General Council of the World Presbyterian Alliance held at Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, New Jersey, in August.

The university board of trustees has authorized contracts for the erection of the Henry Lawrence McCrorey building on the Smith campus. The new building, which will serve as an administration building for the school of theology, will be a three story, fire resistive building named in honor of the late Dr. H. L. McCrorey, who was connected with the university for sixty years.

There were 93 students, with a scholastic average of "B" or above, from the college of liberal arts on the university honor roll for the second semester of the past school term. Bruce Chandler, a junior in the college of liberal arts, maintained a straight "A" average for both semesters in all his courses.

Hollis F. Price, president of LeMoyne college, has been appointed director of fund-raising for the UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND. Dr. Price, who has been president of LeMoyne since 1943, has been granted a leave of absence by the trustees of the college.

■

Dr. C. V. Troup, president of Fort Valley State, was principal speaker

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at the mid-summer convocation of ALBANY STATE COLLEGE. Four graduating seniors received awards from the college department of music during the capping exercises on August 18: Catherine Edmonds, for performance on the bass drum; Harold Horton, for performance on the snare drum; Matthew Rivers, for performance on the saxophone; and Leroy Miller, for service beyond the call of duty as pianist and organist during school affairs.

F. L. Kirkpatrick is the new dean of men and assistant superintendent of buildings and grounds at Albany State. Mr. Kirkpatrick is a native of Birmingham, Alabama, and a graduate of Talladega. He succeeds Ralph Pruitt as dean of men.

Joseph Mitchell and Kenneth Johnson have joined the coaching staff of the college as assistant coaches.

The college was host on August 6 to the semi-annual meeting of the executive council of the National Culinary Association, a professional organization of men and women engaged in all branches of food preparation and service.

■

At the closing session of the Summer Institute for Ministers held at VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE July 12-13, the Rev. Samuel C. Abrams of Scottsville was elected president of the group; the Rev. Edward Davidson of Portsmouth, vice-president; and the Rev. Junius H. Lightfoot, secretary.

Virginia State was host August 3-5 to some 200 4-H club members who were in attendance at the State 4-H Wildlife and Conservation Conference; on July 19-23, to more than 100 participants in the thirty-sixth annual Conference of Teachers of Vocational Agriculture; and on July 23, to the Workshop for Supervisors of Cadet Teachers.

BETTY FORTE, *Douglass High School, Hannibal, Mo., sophomore who was first place winner in Ida Dulany Mahan literary contest.*

M/Sgt. Colbert Gales, Jr., military instructor and sergeant major at VSC, reported for assignment with the Far East Air Forces in August; Lt. Col. Clinton Burke, Jr., has been assigned to the ROTC unit at VSC.

State is offering increased evening study courses this fall to provide an opportunity for college students of the Petersburg, Hopewell, Richmond, and surrounding areas to begin or

to continue their study for degrees while engaged in full employment during the day. The courses will be selected from the regular undergraduate and graduate curricula.

Virginia State has been selected to provide an information and materials exchange service in audio-visual education by Teaching Film Custodians and the Conference of Presidents of Negro Land Grant Colleges. Dr. Samuel A. Madden, director of the field service division of the college, will direct the service.

■

FLORIDA A. AND M. UNIVERSITY enrolled 2,362 college-level students during the school year 1953-1954 and conferred 423 degrees, as follows: 351 bachelor's degrees, 72 master's degrees. Ivie Burch graduated with the greatest distinction.

Sixty-six degrees—a new record which exceeds the previous high of 1953 by four—were among the 206 degrees which were conferred by President George W. Gore, Jr., on August 7 as the university held its first summer session commencement since attaining the university status last September. Commencement speaker was Dr. Joseph Drake, president of Alabama A and M college at Normal, Alabama.

Freshman orientation week was held at the university September 12-19. Freshmen orientation week is designed to aid each freshman in making satisfactory adjustments to his new college environment.

The university recently began construction on its $250,000 addition to the dining hall and a $150,000 addition to the ROTC wing. The $45,000 guest house is now open for occupancy, and the division of home economics is expected to be housed in its $250,000 facility soon.

The university's school of education has recently been granted membership in the American Association of Colleges for Teachers Education, and has also been accredited by the National Council for Accreditation of Teachers Education.

The university was host August 12-18 to The Primitive Baptists of the United States of America at their 47th annual session.

■

Eight of the twenty-four LINCOLN UNIVERSITY (Mo.) ROTC cadets, who spent six weeks in training at the Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri, summer camp, ranked among those in the top third of a class of a total of 867 cadets enrolled, representing all of the army areas.

President Harold D. West of Meharry medical college was the speaker for Lincoln's degree-granting convocation at the close of the summer session on August 5.

The eighth Robert S. Abbott memorial scholarship in journalism ($500) was awarded to Alphonso Westbrooks, Jr., a junior at Talladega college. The award entitles the recipient to a year of study in the university school of journalism. *The Chicago Defender* established this scholarship in 1946 in honor of the late Robert S. Abbott, founder of the newspaper.

Several entries from the department of art at Lincoln merited winner ribbons by the judges of exhibits in the Fine Arts division of the Missouri State Fair in August.

Toward harmony among peoples

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By Leon Roth. In an absorbing style, here is an outline of Jewish history, indicating its influence on the heritage of Western man and how the very credo of Judaism nullifies racial exclusivism. . . . . 40¢

The Catholic Church and the Race Question

By The Reverend Father Yves Congar, O.P. "There is no more Church for each race or nation than there is a God for each nation or race," Father Congar believes. He explains further why prejudice is foreign, in particular, to the Catholic Church. . . . . 40¢

Racial Equality and the Law

By Morroe Berger. An approach to the problem of racism from the legal rather than the social or educational points of view, indicating how, where, and why legal methods of reducing discrimination have been effective. . . 50¢

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Book Review

MORE FILM THAN FOCUS

Youngblood (A novel). **By John O. Killens. New York: The Dial Press, Inc., 1954. 566pp. $3.95.**

Among the contemporary American critics who attribute greatness to William Faulkner's depiction of Southern life, one—Irving Howe—has claimed that "No other American novelist has watched the Negroes so carefully and patiently" and that "none other has listened with such fidelity to the nuances of their speech and recorded them with such skill." John O. Killens' first novel, *Youngblood*, should be a revelation to both Faulkner and Howe, for here is a graphic portrait *of* people, not merely *about* them. It is of people because its characters are realized primarily in terms of natural, human inclinations. And what Mr. Killens measures out in bitter, dramatic doses—frequently interspersed with rollicking humor—is the cruel impact of the way of life in the South on a Negro family and community.

Specifically, this keenly perceived novel tells how Joe Youngblood and his wife Laurie Lee pitted their innate dignity and courage against Southern custom, and how the family was broken and the father destroyed for daring to assert their humanity. For Laurie Lee there is the poignantly presented, heartbreaking trial in which she chooses between lashing her son Robert for the sadistic appeasement of southern law or seeing him committed to the total destruction of a "reformatory." For Joe there is the hard choice between dying a thousand times in galling humiliation or once for martyrdom. For their children there is troublous confusion.

Into this picture steps Richard Miles, a young teacher from New York City who has yet to face his first class and the peculiar challenges his new assignment impose upon him. For he must answer to Blake, the slack-souled parasite of segregation who is principal of the school; to young Robert Youngblood, who will not forgive him if he participates in a "jubilee" for the amusement of arrogant whites who "simply love to hear Negroes sing their spirituals"; and to the folks, who, except for their intelligent and courageous pastor, have been left to fend for themselves by the strivers who live in dubious security up on paved Monroe Terrace. In general, Miles was equal to the challenges, because he liked people as much as he detested the southern atmosphere:

> ". . . He liked almost everybody who lived on the Terrace, but they made him nervous sometimes, the way they always made a point of exaggerating to him the progress that the Negroes were making in the South especially in Crossroads and the liberalism of the educated and well-to-do white folks. Every time he talked with any of them, they would

(*Continued on page* 512)

BOOK REVIEWS

(*Continued from page* 511)

pour it on thicker than ever, as if they had to justify to him their being born in the Southland and staying in the Southland. They embarrassed him. It was as if he had brought their insecurity to the surface, aroused them from their tissue-paper smugness against their will. . . ."

Into this picture come Oscar Jefferson, "the strangest cracker in Crossroads," and his best friend Jim Collins, a sassy and aggressive Negro youth who grew up to become a labor organizer. It is Jefferson, however, who stands as the most memorable of Mr. Killens' characters, for through him Mr. Killens has illuminated one of the most misunderstood personalities in modern America: the tragic cracker. From his father, young Jefferson has learned to

(*Continued on page* 515)

GLOBAL BONDAGE

(*Continued from page* 474)

control and dominate and inhibit and choke vast numbers of men who, like yourselves, are hungering for the liberty and security you have, and have just as much right to it as you have, because they are My sons?

And the eternal God replied:

You will either answer me "No," or I will strip you naked before humanity and I will walk into your temple before your eyes, in spite of your military might, and I will take the candlestick of your leadership in My hands and black it out before your face, clear out of western civilization, and I will plant that light in Asia, to your everlasting shame and humiliation.

BIOGRAPHICAL TESTAMENT

(*Continued from page* 464)

his novel (published in America in 1948) in which the artificial barrier of race fell under the power of love. And one is led to suggest that with or without the guideposts of Keats' sensuous, flowing poetry (*Endymion*, Book II, lines 827-839), his mother's rewarding love and his country's aweful grandeur he would somehow have found his way. Even from the very wretchedness of his beginnings he was "Like a sick eagle looking at the sky."

Tell Freedom is a social document washed in the arterial bloodstream of a contrite heart-in substance, a timely warning to those who would live by the sword; in style, a simple lesson for those who would purge with the pen.

LOOKING & LISTENING

(*Continued from page* 490)

cast the decision to the world in thirty-four languages."

The decision, the paper adds, was a victory for the Republicans. "For 'anticolonial America,' this decision was more than a symbol. Europeans visiting America have always been depressed by American discriminatory practices so long endemic in the South."

The May issue of *Combat* discusses the decision under the headline: "Violent Southern Reaction Against Court's Segregation Decision." *Combat* points out that racial segregation is so deeply imbedded in the American mores that no sensible person expects it to disappear overnight.

France Observateur (June 3) excerpted a speech of Congressman Adam Clayton Powell in which Mr. Powell discussed the pressure of foreign opinion on the American race problem and how anxious America is to improve her racial practices. It was in this speech that Mr. Powell made his prediction about how the Supreme Court would decide the school cases.

A Mexican reader sends two clippings from a Mexico City newspaper, but failed to include either date or name of the paper. One is a column by Manuel Lerin; the other a column by Luis Castano. Both commentators call attention to the effect of the decision on Mexican residents in the southwestern part of the United States where they are discriminated against as much as Negroes.

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1. The names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher, The Crisis Publishing Company, Inc., 20 West 40th St., New York 18; Editor, James W. Ivy, 20 West 40th St., New York 18; Managing editor, James W. Ivy, 20 West 40th St., New York 18; Business manager, Roy Wilkins, 20 West 40th St., New York 18.

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James W. Ivy, *Editor*

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 7th day of September, 1954.

(SEAL)

Morris Berk

(My commission expires January 19, 1956)

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BOOK REVIEW

(*Continued from page 512*)

expect brutal thrashings; from his mother, a mixture of love and deception; from his friend Jim, the facts of life in race relations. The result is a serious-minded personality pondering the grave issues of right and wrong and finally realizing, in his slow, hesitant manner, that nearly all life as it is lived in the South is one huge, complicated lie.

Also memorable in *Youngblood* is the authentic tone of its idiom. Mr. Killens' mastery of the language and thoughts of common folk makes the contrived diction of Amos and Andy very funny indeed. On the other hand, this novel reveals that the author has more film than focus. It could be many pages shorter even if the truthfulness of its subject matter argues against its being sweeter. Nevertheless, it proves that when a born storyteller has a clear understanding balanced between human nature and human society, the net effect makes for new light in August.

Henry F. Winslow

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